

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM Here's Barbara

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LYMAN KIRKPATRICK INTERVIEWED

ANNOUNCER: "This morning on 'Here's Barbara', Lyman Kirkpatrick, former Executive Director of the CIA, discusses Russian spy operations. Next on Television 7."

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BARBARA COLEMAN: "Good morning. We're so happy you could join us this morning, and I might say that this half four is going to be a great departure from our usual format because of the nature of my guest. And I think that this is going to be one of the most important half hours that you've watched on television in a long time. First of all, we're going to welcome later on in the program, that very well known entertainer and singer, John Rait.

"But my first guest this morning, because of the stature of our guest we have eliminated a lot of our spots and we are going to give you a great deal of time to listen to this man.

"His name is Lyman Kirkpatrick, and he is former Executive Director of the CIA. Now I know you've wondered when you read recent news stories about the CIA, how does it operate? What is a spy? Is everybody like James Bond? Well, we're going to answer this. We're going to talk about the Russian spies and how they operate, and I think that you'll find this a highly enlightening half hour.

"Mr. Kirkpatrick, as I said before, is former Executive Director of CIA. He graduated from Princeton University, and then worked as editor on U.S. News & World Report, and during World War II was in the Office of Strategic Services, which is commonly known as OSS. And he served overseas as Intelligence Briefing Officer on the staff of General Bradley's 12th United States Army group. Now Mr. Kirkpatrick is currently Professor of Political Science and University Professor at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. And he's teaching courses in Communist cold war operations, and American security policy. And he recently completed the first draft on a book, which he has tentatively titled 'Intelligence in a Free Society.' Mr. Kirkpatrick, I can't tell you how happy we are to have you with us this morning."

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KIRKPATRICK: "Thank you Barbara, it's a pleasure to be here."

COLEMAN: "Without further ado, I just want to get down to some very pointed questions, because we - there are a lot of things we all want to know about the CIA. First of all, there seems to be a modern misconception about what an agent is for CIA. Is he really like James Bond and the 'Man from Uncle?'"

KIRKPATRICK: "I think I've probably been asked this one question more than any other since I left the Agency, and I must say in all truthfulness that I didn't realize the lack of knowledge or information there is about CIA and about intelligence."

"I've never known anybody like James Bond, and I've known a lot of people in the profession over the years. I think probably the best way to describe the intelligence attitude towards James Bond is one of envy and jealousy. (laughter) Somebody who has as many fast cars and beautiful women and all the other gadgetry which Ian Fleming gave him to use. The answer to your question of course, is yes, there is - there are spies in the world, but I think that the image of CIA has been badly tarnished by the belief that this is all that that organization does, or is interested in."

"The CIA basically is what its name implies, the central intelligence organization. It's the brain child of a great American named William J. Donovan, 'Wild Bill' Donovan, who in World War I won every combat decoration the United States Army had, including the Congressional Medal of Honor, when he commanded the fighting 69th Regiment of New York, and in World War II was called by President Roosevelt to organize what was originally known as the Office of the Coordinator of Information, an organization which in June of 1942 was split into the Office of War Information, which handled news and information, and the OSS, which was the intelligence and the operational arm."

"Now the - the most important contribution I think that Donovan made to his country, despite his many other greatnesses, was that very early in the War he started to think about the peace, and what the country would require in the way of an intelligence organization in peace time. And it was then that the central intelligence concept was born. Now I always like to stress, Barbara, the - the fact that Donovan was a student, as well as being a lawyer and a fighter and a man of adventure, but the important aspect was that he realized, having seen the Pearl Harbor episode, having seen the other intelligence services, that a great nation like ours needed a central organization that could speak for all of the intelligence services which any country would have; to the President, to the top policy makers, and put together for them what they need to know from an intelligence viewpoint, to assist them in policy making."

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"So, when one emphasizes some of the, shall we say, more glamorous aspects of intelligence, it's to the detriment of what its basic function is, which is first to provide intelligence, the intelligence part of the name, and secondly to be the central organization, so that unlike Roosevelt at Pearl Harbor, where he listened to four or five or even more voices telling him what they thought were going to happen, our government today can listen to one voice speaking on behalf of everybody."

COLEMAN: "CIA does have members of their clandestine operation all over the globe. Do you have any women working as agents?"

KIRKPATRICK: "Yes, well, when you say working as agents, I..."

COLEMAN: "There I am, back in the James Bond..."

KIRKPATRICK: "There you are back in the James Bond in the first place, and secondly, I have resolved, and this I will stick to, never to talk about operations or agents as such. We can talk about the philosophy of it, so - so let me answer the question by saying I don't know. But let me then say, that there are many able and dedicated women in the Central Intelligence Agency, and that the organization tries to recruit women from colleges and universities and other fields."

"And, I'd simply note that President Johnson recognized this last year, the quality of the women in the Agency, when he named Penelope Thundberg (?), one of the Economists in CIA, to the Tariff Commission."

COLEMAN: "Mr, Kirkpatrick, the CIA has been recorded to be involved in the overthrow of certain governments, for instance Guatemala and Iran. Now, isn't this rather an unamerican activity to be either supporting or contributing to the downfall of governments outside the United States?"

KIRKPATRICK: "Well, the answer to the question is, that I suppose the interference in the internal affairs of other nations is unamerican, yes, that's quite true. But that really is talking about a past era. Because, with our vast aid programs, with the complex and vast inter-relationship between nations today, this is really no longer as important a factor. Now, as to the allegations, as to what the CIA has done, I believe Allen Dulles, former great Director of the Agency, said at one point that if the Agency was responsible for everything that people alleged to it, it would have probably a size about the equivalent of the whole United States government."

COLEMAN: "But it has been involved in the overthrow of governments."

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KIRKPATRICK: "Again, that is an operational question which I'm going to step aside by saying that what the CIA does is what it is directed to do by higher authorities..."

COLEMAN: "All right - all right, now..."

KIRKPATRICK: "...by the policy makers."

COLEMAN: "Well, now who - who actually directs the CIA."

KIRKPATRICK: "Well, the answer to that I think has been described in various books and other documents, and I think the best way to describe it without being specific is the law says that the Central Intelligence Agency will perform those services as directed by the National Security Council. The National Security Council being composed, as you know, of the Secretaries of State and Defense, and the Chief of the Office of Emergency Planning, the Vice President, and the President being the Chairman. Well now, this - this group has various committees and other staff working with them and they certainly can call on anybody in any part of the government to assist them in their staff work, so, when you say that the Agency is directed in its activities - in simplest terms, it's directed by the White House, the Defense Department, and the State Department."

COLEMAN: "All right, now, Mr. Kirkpatrick, don't you think that a lot of the criticism of the CIA is actually a round about criticism of the policy makers, which cannot be perhaps criticized so openly?"

KIRKPATRICK: "Well, I think this - this undoubtedly is true. It is that - I feel that some of the problems of the CIA with the Congress are most unfortunate, from a point of view that it is obviously the prerogative of the Congress to decide how they wish to supervise, or oversee, the work of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the other intelligence organizations. And whether this is to be done by a Joint Committee of Armed Services, Appropriations, and Foreign Relations, is strictly for the Congress itself to decide. And the unfortunate part about it, Barbara, in my opinion, is that the controversy and particularly the degree of press comment on the controversy, makes it seem as though there is something wrong - that somebody's doing something they shouldn't do, or that the Agency isn't being properly supervised or overseen."

"Now, during my years in the organization I spent a great deal of time on our Congressional relations, and I think the Agency is being well overseen, and I think that this is something, again, if - if the Congress wishes to expand the Committee, they should determine, but preferably in the future, without a great deal of public debate."

COLEMAN: "Well, now, what's behind the Fulbright effort to place three members of Foreign Relations Committee, on the Senate Armed Services subcommittee, which is investigating the CIA?"

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KIRKPATRICK: "Well, in the first place, that's a combined subcommittee, it's both Armed Services and Appropriations, Mr. Russell being the Chairman of the combined group. What is behind it and what has been behind many bills introduced in the Congress over the years - every session of Congress, I think, has seen one or two bills in the Senate, and a dozen or more in the House - proposing a joint committee over CIA, is the feeling in Senate Foreign Relations that the Agency's work, and the Agency's influence in foreign affairs, and United States foreign relations, is such that they ought to be cut in on what it's doing. And with this view I frankly sympathize. I think that's true.

"The other view in the Senate is - is a reluctance to widen the knowledge of what the Agency is doing. The point I think that should be emphasized here, is that the established Committees already know what it's doing, and it's up to them to decide as to whether they want to bring in other members of the Congress. The Congress should decide this, and - and should decide it either the way it is now, or else reach an understanding amongst itself, that it won't be debated to the degree it has. Cause I think it upsets the country, and I think it doesn't help the image of a very important organization, as far as our government is concerned."

COLEMAN: "But isn't this essentially an argument behind the scenes between Russell and Fulbright?"

KIRKPATRICK: "Well, I wouldn't want to get into personalities, but it seems that to the observer who knows nothing more than what he reads in the paper or sees on the television, that this is - this is what it boils down to."

COLEMAN: "Now, Mr. Kirkpatrick, what do you feel is behind the letter that the current Director of the CIA, Helms, Richard Helms, released and wrote to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch?"

KIRKPATRICK: "Well, I don't know anything about the letter, Barbara, or why it was written. It is most unlike Dick Helms, with whom I worked for more than two decades..."

COLEMAN: "But it was signed by him. If a letter goes out with your signature on it, don't you know about it?"

KIRKPATRICK: "Well, I would assume so, and particularly Dick, who is very meticulous and very careful, and I think this was just an error for which he has duly apologized. It's sad that it should start out his tenure as Director, which I hope will be long and successful, because he is the first career man to head the Agency. This is what every career officer in the Agency has hoped for over the years. It's had brilliant directors: men like Bedel Smith and Allen Dulles and John McCone - and all of them very able and all of them doing a great deal for the organization. With all due respect to

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them and their accomplishments, what the people who have made the Agency their career, and there are a great number of them, wanted was to see their own running the Agency. And it's just an unfortunate episode, and I'm sure it's the last of it's kind."

COLEMAN: "Well, what about the other unfortunate episode of the Tofte affair in Georgetown?"

KIRKPATRICK: "Well, I don't know anything about that. I know the participants, and the others - it's almost like a little bit of comic opera. Again, it's the type of thing which is seen on nationwide television, and whether mistakes were made as to who's right or who's wrong, is something the Agency will have to work out. But, this sort of thing doesn't help an image which I think is important."

COLEMAN: "Mr. Kirkpatrick, I'd like to turn our attention now to the situation in Vietnam based on your years of experience. Don't you think that it's time the United States should say, 'Look, you move behind this parallel; we're going to drop our bombs and we're not going to fool around any more.'"

KIRKPATRICK: "Well, we're moving into what probably is the area that I've devoted more time and attention to in my nearly a year now in the academic world than anything else. I hadn't been on the campus at Brown more than a few hours when there was a knock at my door and this young lady came in and asked if I would participate in a teach in on Vietnam. She said, 'We assume from your position in the government that you would support the Administration's position.' I said, 'That's a very correct assumption.' She said, 'Therefore, we'd like to have you at a teach in.' I said, 'No, I won't be in anything called a teach in. If the students would like to sponsor a forum, we'll have a forum.'"

"So we had a forum and I thought it was great. I was very much in the minority, as far as..."

COLEMAN: "Yes, but what was your viewpoint?"

KIRKPATRICK: "Well, my..."

COLEMAN: "What is your viewpoint?"

KIRKPATRICK: "My viewpoint is very specifically this: I think we should tell the Communist world, not just the North Vietnamese or the Chinese, but the whole Socialist world, as they now like to call themselves, that aggression stops at their boundaries, not our boundaries, or the boundaries of our friends -- and that our determination to make this certain can be seen from the fact that we're not going to let Vietnam, or our friends go down the drain, because it's going to take time or money. This is not to say that I don't believe we should explore, as Governor Harriman is now exploring, every possibility for peace in every straw in the wind. And it's not to say that we shouldn't withdraw at a point when we think the guarantees are there for at least a self-determination in South Vietnam as to their future disposition."

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"But I think the struggle there is a pretty fundamental one, as far as our long range issue is concerned. And I do hope that the Administration will spare no effort in explaining the issues of this very complex war in a very complex country, to the people of the United States so that they won't in turn become frustrated or impatient. I don't think that either extreme is one which is feasible. I don't think the extreme of destroying North Vietnam with - with a capability which we have and which is really not a very great strain on our capabilities to destroy North Vietnam. And I don't think that either we should destroy South Vietnam trying to win it.

"So, it's a very delicate problem, as far as the policy makers of the government, and I certainly don't envy them their problems or their tasks."

COLEMAN: "Well, now, Mr. Kirkpatrick, don't you feel that perhaps the current Administration is holding back on any definite determination in Vietnam, because of the political situation at home?"

KIRKPATRICK: "Well, there are so many factors, Barbara, that go into any decision, whether it's the war in Vietnam, or whether it's NATO and our position in regard to France. Occasionally, to go back to intelligence -- occasionally the intelligence people would become frustrated, because they'd say, 'Well, they aren't reading our reports. The policy makers get our reports, but their decisions and determinations don't seem to indicate that they've read them.' What these people overlook is the fact that into any major policy decision made by the United States Government, there are a dozen or more factors that must be given consideration, intelligence being one, economics being another, military strength being a third, relations with our allies being a fourth, relations with the Communists and Socialist bloc being another. And then domestic considerations are a very important one.

"We have, to use the old and timeworn, but very sacred slogan, 'a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.' So, the President can't act without domestic considerations being very much in his mind."

COLEMAN: "And do you foresee a major confrontation with Red China?"

KIRKPATRICK: "No."

COLEMAN: "A major war?"

KIRKPATRICK: "I don't think so. Some people feel that we may have a jamor confrontation with Red China. We don't want it and the Chinese don't want it. I'm sure the Chinese don't want it. And, furthermore, perhaps even more important, neither the North Vietnamese

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nor the National Liberation Front, the Viet Cong, want it. Those people don't want China coming into this war."

COLEMAN: "Mr. Kirk (sic), we've been talking about more serious business. I just wanted to mention -- which I'm sure maybe our viewers do not know, but I'm only bringing it up because of your attitude and because of the fact that it'll mean a great deal to some people out there -- you had polio, the same type which has put you in this wheelchair at the moment, the same as the former President Roosevelt had.

"And what's your attitude been, Kirk?"

KIRKPATRICK: "Well, it's, of course, a terrible shock to anybody, whether it's polio, or whether you fall out of an airplane and break your back, to suddenly realize that after having led a vigorous life that you're henceforth going to be confined to a wheelchair. And I'm sure that such words as handicapped, or crippled, or thing like that were initially a shock to my system. I was blessed by the fact that I had excellent care and went to New York to the Institute of Physical Medicine, Dr. Howard Rusks, where attitude is an important aspect.

"Once I got used to the fact that I wasn't really terribly different than I was before -- perhaps lazier getting around in a wheelchair. I think it's a question of personal determination. And there's nothing I can't do from cut the grass, or drive the car, to travel around the world."

COLEMAN: "Lyman Kirkpatrick, my thanks to you for coming in this morning. It's been a great treat for us.

"We've been talking to Mr. Lyman Kirkpatrick, former Executive Director of the CIA."